Torus, October 10th.

Mossiscu: M. de Bismarck, on the 13th and 16th of September last, has addressed to the Diplomatic Acents of the Northern Confederation two Circulars, execulated to justify in the eyes of Europe the exacting demands of Prussia. The arguments of the Chancellor, which he afterwards repeated at Ferrieres in his conversations with M. Jules Pavre, convey in substance, that if Prussia has a desire to annex territories, it is not in the spirit of cauquest, but solely to assure to Germany a lasting peace, and to guard her against the attacks which it has been at all times the object of France to make. He wishes, he says, to shelter Germany from the incursions of a warlike neighbor, whose ambition has not ceased for centuries from menacing the security and independence of the German people. It is not the first time that M. de Bismarck ascribes to those whom he wishes to attack the very projects which he himself entertains. We can not admit. either the premises which he sets forth, or the consequences which he deduces therefrom. France is not what he wishes to make her. A judgment of her. Let us take facts, and inquire what France has been aiming at for the last century-a period sufficient to become acquainted with the spirit of a nation. It is the duty of nations to remain bound by their past policy. but this obligation only pledges their honor, and progress for them would be a word devoid of in the groove in which interests lost eight of, or France of to-day no more resembles the France does the Holy Empire. The war of conquest common practice of Monarchies. The Revolution of 1789 had as its result a political change; peace is a condition pecessary to liberty. France thus shed around her? who rose up in arms to arrest in its first flight the genius of the French Revolution? No ingenuity of language, no his- we would only accept war if it was for the bonor was the first to fight against #.

From the invasion of 1792 dates the beginning acknowledge it, beyond legitimate reprisals. She had suffered cruel injuries; she allowed herself to Jena was a revenge. Lelpzig and Waterloo folpermitted a people for a time to renounce their own independence, they can not wih impunity strike a blow at that of other nations.

France, however, recovered from ber disasters, and reconquered herself. From the moment at which it became impossible to engage her without her consent, what war has she provoked? Where is seen that spirit of ambition, and engerness after conquest which M. de Bismarck attributes to us? Who, more than we, during these bountiful years, has contributed to the maintenance of peace in Europe? France had fettered, their influence was felt more and more in the foreign policy of the country. Wherever there was a people to deliver, liberties to defend. a moral grandeur to acquire, France was found ready. The Restoration battled for Greece; the Monarchy of July insured the independence of Belgium, and those ideas were so firmly fixed at this period in the consience of the nation that the second Empire understood that henceforth it must think with them, and proclaim loudly that it brought peace. France believed it. The Empire, however, had need of military prestige, and sought it. But the wars which it undertook had a character far different from those of Napoleon I., for if it (the second Empire.) at times stemmed the pacific current which the nation was bent on following, it did not ren! asunder the principles which the nation had adopted. In the Crimea, France, in company with two free peoples, fought for the independence of Turkey. It was to deliver a friendly nation that our armies scaled the Alps in 1859. The Mexican adventure itself. blamed and discussed so energetically, and rightly by the liberal party, could never have been explained but by means of theories, chimerical it is true, but which repudiated in advance all thought of conquest. What is there in common between these principles, consecrated by a practice of more than half a century, under four different regimes, and the policy of "fire and sword" weich, since 1864, has been let loose over Europe? What act, or what promise of France can make her answerable? Who spoiled Denmark? openly forced Austria into war? violently annexed Hanover, Hesse, Frankfort, &c.? roused all Europe's simmbering passions and shook it to its centre? France has only intervened in this crisis to basten and secure peace. They talk of the warlike ardor of the nation,

and of the petty jealousies which the victories of Prussia kad excited. But immediately after Sadowa, at the time of the irritating incident of Laxembourg, opinion in France was decidedly declared against war, and the German press itself was obliged to acknowledge it; moderation was found to be on our side. When, finally, the war broke out in the month of July last, who could deny that Prussia had done every thing in her power for the last four years to arrive at this end? Throwing aside her political conduct, and the willful non-performance of the Treaty of Prague, she was formidably armed and ready in eight days to enter upon the campaign. Events have shows to what extent her prepartions, undertaken long ago, have been pushed : on the contrury, it is well known how they had been neglegted by France. Not only were the armuments of Prussia complete, but her alliances were conclosed; she was evidently determined to draw us into a formidable conflict. We can speak freely of this war, for the members of the present aside the borrors of war from the country. We loadly proclaim that, notwithstanding the behavior of Prussia, the real motive of the struggle was not justifiable; and M. de Bismarck could not seriously stigmatize us with the publications of certain writers, and the manifestations of an excited mob. These were isolated acts, without support in the country, and which did not go beyoud the confused agitation which all public

Cabinet. emotion rauses in great cities. M. de Bismarck knows the value of these

ory of war? Governments are always sure to kindle enthusiasm when they promise glory and triumph. That is why their responsibility is so going along with opinion, their fall is inevitable. This result has been produced as well under the second as under the first Empire. Both must of necessity fall; enterprises which they were pursting were unjust. As to the affirmation of M. de Bismarck that the Empire was coerced by public opinion, the very facts give him an unqualified denial. Consulted at the time of the legislative elections of 1869, the people had affirmed in the most energetic manner their love of peace. The same tendencies were shown, and very explicitly, at the time of the plebiscite of the 9th of May, 1870, to such an extent that two months afterwards, the Government had for the first time for many years to reduce the contin-

This concession, demanded by the state of feeling, proves with all the evidence of an actual fact how far France was from all warlike ideas in the month of July. The renewal of the councils general had again, a short time previous, furnished a fresh occasion for the display of these aspirations. But we even possess an official document which proves in the most formal manner that, far from having been led away by public opinion, the Empire, on the contrary, was seriously perplexed hasty glance at her history does not permit this to know if it would be followed by it. So little was it assured of its obedience, on a declaration of war, that it was thought necessary to take its opinion expressly on this subject. The Prefects received orders to report to the Minister of Interior the impressions caused in the departments by this sudden news. Their replies, published sense if they were condemned to travel always 2nd of October, leave no ground for any doubt. since that time in the Journal Official after the "The first impulse has been astonishment and passions hereafter without object, obliged them. surprise," wrote one Prefect. Others say: "This news, bursting forth in the midst of a profound governed by Louis XIV, than Germany of to-day calm, has caused great emotion." , " War is considered so great a scourge that we do not wish to was, at that epoch, if not the right, at least the believe it." The ardent desire of maintaining peace displayed itself everywhere. "I believe that at bottom we dread war," wrote one of the most populcus and enlightened of the departmade for herself a new ideal; sufficiently strong ments. "No one," said another Prefect, "wishes henceforth to be independent, she sought less to for war, should it be the result of the great social domineer over the people than to enlighten them uneasiness that is spreading over the country." by her example. That which she had just ac "This country wants peace," also writes another; complished in America for the United States, " it will only accept war with repugnance;" and she was ready to re-commence in Europe. Who others in the same style : "The population cerendsavored to extinguish the light which she tainly do not want war, and long ardently for

torical cavil will prevail against this fact: the of the country. We clang with eagerness to the Revolution of 1789 opened up a new era, and last hope of peace? "When it shall be proved." broke down the traditions of the past: Prussia writes a prefect, "that everything has been tried to arrive at this result unavailingly, we shall decide to submit to the consequences of a collision of of those fatal rivalries which were eventually to which we are afraid." We could multiply citabring about the present calamities. France retions. Out of 89 prefects' reports. Il only menpulsed aggression; but she was carried away, we tion complete approbation; all the others betray the same prejudice, or the same repugnauce. This then is an incontestable fact. Thus it remains be overcome by the intoxication of victory, established that France did not menace the integrity of Germany; her history for more than lowed, and reminded the French that if it is half a century proves it so on all its pages. She never meditated conquests; aspirations of an opposite nature unimated her; and in fact, even while her disposition did not urge her to it, the clearest sense of her interest compelled her to a pacific course. Such is the nation against the incursions of which M. de Rismarck wishes to protect Germany, and the territorial dismemberment of which appears to him the only safe guarantee for the tranquility of the German people. The line of the Rhine, according to him, is no longer sufficient; he wants the line of the Vosges and the Moselle. He must have, now-aalready paid dearly for the faults of the first Em- days. Alsace and Lormine, and this at the very pire. However much modern opinions were yet time when Germany has just changed her interior constitution. After 1815, Europe already dreading the expansive force of the German people, strove to give her (Germany) a Constitution, the hasis of which was exclusively organized on the defensive, and France, although the treaties of facing Germany, is entirely open. The results of the present war furnish an indisputable proof of this. And while France has modified nothing in her organization, Germany has raised herself the most formidable State a power has ever attained: Absolute military unity, personal and firect action from the leader who bears the sword of command, military service obligatory on all, we ask whether France or Germany is now the menacing party. Not more in 1870 than in 1792 has Prussia had need to goard against the attacks of France. It is without doubt that the Prussian Government seeks rather offensive facilities than better lines of defense. One does not see well. in fact, how Germany would be better protected because her frontier would be carried further forward. In case of invasion the country occupied ould then be the territory appexed to Germany, and the scene of action would simply be carried from one province into another; and what would be the result of these violent annexations of territories which do not wish to cease being French? Without speaking of the sentiment which is resugment to every honest mind, of thus seeing opulations submit to a nationality contrary to their aspirations and their past, it would tend to perpetuate war. In fact, is it possible that the eling of France could ever be slienated from contries which having so nobly borne so many misfortunes and so gloriously shed so much blood, are united to her by bonds which cannot be broken. The turmoil which would arise from this would agitate Europe, without the possibility of hoping henceforth for one moment of repose. It

is clearly seen in the setting forth of such pretenions, demanding such concessions. M. de Bismarck is making for himself new wars which are necessary to him in order to attain the end to which a boundless ambition is harrying him on. What the German people want is, national unity and political liberty; liberal France could not be opposed to this. It is a just cause, and we would be repudiating our past policy if we were to oppose it. But there is an abyss between these aspirations and the doctrine evolved and applied by M. de Bismarck. If we weigh the events which have happened in Europe during the last ten years, we must see that Prassin has berself taken the course which she with so much injustice attributes to us. It is not possible to have a doubt in this respect after the reception by M. de Bismarck of M. Jules Favre's noble advances. If France fails, there is yet another war menacing Europe, paralysing every flight of Government have done all in their power to turn thought, all civilization, all progress of the prosperity of the people.

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French merino and crape; Ticking;
White shirting and long cloth;
Brown and blue cottons strills, heavy;
Brown and blue cottons; Hickory stripes;
Blue twilled Saxony flunnels;
Imperial lipens, assorted; Blue twilled Saxvey flannels;
Imperial linens, assorted;
White linen handkerchiefs;
Turkey red and yellow handkerchiefs;
White jaconet bandkerchiefs;
White jaconet bandkerchiefs;
Black silk clarite; Bress goods;
Plain and figured black allk;
White linen and ribbed drill;
Fine white linen dock; Black lining silk;
Black hair cloth for tailor's nes;
Black twill; Blue pique; Cashmare;
Veil barege, assorted colors.
For Sale by

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INSURANCE NOTICES.

THE NEW ENGLAND MUTUAL LIFE INSURANCE COMPANY. OF BOSTON.

ORGANIZED IN 1843.

Gross Income for 1860,.... 2,913,357 Dividends for 1869 ...... 756,000

miums collected from 1843 to 1868.....\$17,093,564 ses paid from 1543 to 1868 ...... 3.216,530 READ WHAT CTHERS SAY OF US.

From the "Speciator" of New York City we ag-tract as follows: "The New England Mattack stands forth as a fitting type of what a company should be in regard to its method of business. Seeking rather he establish a reputation for stability and soundiness, than to present novel and promising, but untried and unapproved features in underwiting; conducting all the company's affairs with the stratect economy and adopting only those measures proved by expurience to be the wirest, the directors of the company have con-ceeded in establishing for it a resountation for reliability

be the wisest, the directors of the company have succeeded in establishing for it a reputation for reliability second to no other similar organization in the country.

Yet, great as is the degree of caution manifested in the adoption of every new measure, the company is conducted in a manner fully in unition with the progressive spirit of the age. As regards its dealings with policy holders, few companies are more liberal and honest."

"The buriness of the New England Mutual is conducted in the most economical and able manner; its terms are liberal and just; its success has been uniform and extended and its perfect reliability in a softly the natural consequences attendant upon the presenting of such features, and which should be the great desideratum with an insurance company, are in no desideratum with an insurance company, are is so

For further particulars please call upon CASTLE & COOKE,
49-3me Agents for the Hawaiian Islands. THE MUTUAL LIFE INSURANCE CO. OF NEW YORK.

Cash Assets, over ... \$36,000.000! Cash Dividends in 1868, .... \$3,257.137.26.

The Largest Life Insurance Company IN THE WORLD!

COMMISSION MERCHANT Premiums must be Paid Squi-Ananally or Quarterly. ADAMS & WILDER,

> Agents for the Hawaiian Islands. IMPERIAL FIRE INSURANCE COMPANY Of London.-Instituted 1803. CASH CAPITAL, \$8,000,000 in GOLD.

> THE UNDERSIGNED are property to been policies on Fire Risks (with or without the average clame) on Plantation Buildings and Mantinery, Private Dwellings, Ricks, Stone and Wooden, Stores, Merchantiles, Cools, Lou-ber, Strips in Port, &c., on the most favorable terms. 53" All Losses Adjusted and Paid for here. "63 For particulars apply at the office of WALKER & ALLEN, 23-1y Agents for the Hamstinn Islem MERCHANTS' MUTUAL

MARINE INSURANCE COMPANY

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THE UNDERSIGNED having teen sponted Agents for the above Company, are presented Policies on Cargoes, Preights and Trens-Walker & Alden. SAN FRANCISCO

BOARD OF UNDERWRITERS. THE UNDERSIGNED having been sp-California Insurance Company, Merchanis' Mutual Marine Inc. Co., Pacific Insurance Company, California Lloyd's, and

Home Mutual Insurance Company. Beg leave to inform Musicar of Vassale and the public generally, that all house of Vessale and Vessale and the public generally, that all house of Vessale and parties of the seaso and other take, at or near the Sandwich Islands will have to be verified by them. 1-310 II. HACKFELD & CO. CALIFORNIA

INSURANCE COMPANY. THE UNDERSIGNED, AGENTS OF THE above Company, have been authorized to incure risks Cargo, Freight and Treasure, from Honolain ill ports of the world, analysis versa. 8-1v6 CALIFORNIA

INSURANCE COMPANY. THE UNDERSIGNED, AGENTS of the above Company, have been authorized to it, see class a Cargo, Freight and Treasure, by Coasters, on Renolciu to all ports of the Hamaian Group, and size H. HACKPRED & CO. HAMBURGH-BREMEN

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Insurance Notice. THE AGENT FOR THE BRITISH FOR sign Marine Insurance Company, (Edmired), has reI matructions to resince the rates of frauntante
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